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[Note on foreign text p. 53-55 cont.] they keep the ornaments and mementos of the kin group in order to have a guarantee for the good fortune and wealth of the family; cf. Lin Yüeh-hwa: I chia. Above all, the arrow of good fortune seems to be of great importance among the Bon; cf. H. Hoffmann, Quellen [Sources], pp. 190, 184, 178. It plays a special role in the wedding customs of the Bon, as H. Francke has described them in the wedding songs. The wedding customs of the Tujen and their songs show a certain relationship with these Bon customs, which in itself is not surprising since up to the most recent times the Bon religion in Amdo had a strong influence. The conception of the tribal animals, mother-animals, mother-treasures, to which all other earthly animals, treasures, etc. go back, however, belongs to the world-view of the Bon; cf. H. Francke; Hochzeitslieder [Wedding Songs], pp. 8 ff. The tribal animals are also celebrated in song by the Tujen in a song-cycle bearing the name xoni, "sheep." This song-cycle actually stems from the Amdo-Fandse, among whom it is called g, yaṅ-dkar, "white good-fortune," or g, yaṅ-dkar lug, "sheep of the white good-fortune." Although various animals are celebrated in song, the sheep stands in the center as the supreme blessing of good fortune.

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If one ties these conceptions together, it may be stated of the yãñsdzia: It bears within it the germs and origins of the gifts of fortune of this world. Living beings are allied more with heaven (are

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[Note on foreign text p. 53-55 cont.]
perhaps to be interpreted as astral), and the seeds, together with the other treasures, more with earth. The arrow represents the connection of the two (heavenly post, heavenly rope). This idea also fits in well with the pre-Buddhistic -- shamanistic world-picture with the world mountain and the individual realms. Cf. for instance, the representation in the mountain torma at the ritual of the pole-goat, where all of creation is put in miniature on a mandala. A germinally pre-formed world which maintains the actual, large world through its vital power is always fundamental. -- It would be interesting to pursue these conceptions across Asia; perhaps even the Inao and the "sending off" of the Ainu are connected with them.

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The arrow of good fortune and the customs connected with it have passed into Buddhism and are practiced in all lamic monasteries. The arrow is found everywhere. The most important ceremony is the summoning of good fortune (g.yaṅ 'gug). This ceremony is reported in detail in F. Lessing (Yung Ho Kung, pp. 139-147), where further details concerning the Lamaistic use of the [55] arrow can also be found, but this does not belong here. Only one parallel with the popular custom among the Tujen should be mentioned, where Lessing describes the procession with the arrow of good fortune (p. 146): "After this interlude, the procession continues its way and finally returns to Hall II. They have absorbed all they can the elixir

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*778 [777] [772] Meaning: The mani-tree guarantees good fortune and peace for the household, yard, and people. The air-horse is a symbol of fate. On its back it bears the precious stone of good fortune: nuru. The tree represents the world-mountain. Around its peak circle sun, moon, and stars, and below lies the world with the people, with house and yard and herds (9).

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9. [Foreign text pp. 61-62.] This explanation by the informant indicates that only with the raising of the mani-pole is the compound complete, part of the world order, as is also expressed in other songs. It is based upon the Lamaistic conception of the world, according to which the world-mountain is in the center and everything else is situated around it. Among the lamas one always finds this interpretation, as it is presented symbolically in the monogram found everywhere, the nantšu wãñdãh. To be sure, the Tujen know nothing of the detailed interpretations of this monogram (cf. Note 3), nor of the parallel between this cosmic interpretation and the human body. -- Here it should also be noted that in this symbol the flat disk under the moon sickle is lacking, and furthermore that the colors are different; the small flame on the sun is green, the sun itself white, the moon sickle red; cf. Unkrig in Filchner: Kumbum, pp. 160-161.

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[62] The word sdzi-ñkuor and the informant's translation, "center-round," phonetically and semantically give precisely the Tibetan word dkyil 'k'or; cf. DMF, p. 387, and Ch. Das, p. 56.

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[Note on foreign text pp. 61-62 cont.] The various meanings of dkyil 'k'or are given there, particularly as the equivalent of the Sanskritic word mandala, the magical circles and figures and representations of the divine dwellings, etc. (cf. the chapter, "The Pole-Goat"); furthermore, for the conception of the universe under consideration here, "According to the Buddhist cosmogony there are sa-yi dkyil 'k'or the sphere of earth, c'u-yi dkyil 'k'or the sphere of water, the ocean, rluñ-gi dkyil 'k'or the atmosphere, me-yi dkyil 'k'or the sphere of fire; each forming a stratum over the other. The upper stratum, i.e. that which is beyond the atmosphere, is called the sphere of fire or light [cited in English] (Ch. Das, loc. cit.). If one puts this orthodox Lamaist explanation beside the old man's explanation, he sees how indigenous and alive this conception is among the Tujen, how it is literally built into the existential sphere.

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The air-horse does not really seem to belong in this conceptual picture, and it could not be learned from the informant what the air-horse, in other words, the mani-flag, has to do with the world mountain, why it is attached to it. He thought that it would hang high on it and could flutter well in the wind, and, with its prayer and magical formulas, it would be the same as a prayer-mill that is likewise turned by the wind on the roof. Other

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[Note on foreign text pp. 61-62 cont.] explanations do not connect the air-horse with the round manger, either. Thus, one can hear that the magical formulas and prayers are carried to heaven on the air-horse. Others, again, believe that the air-horses are ridden by the wandering restless spirits and souls of the dead; in this way they would find the right way and come to rest. According to them, this is also the reason why these paper horses are released in such large numbers. Then the spirits are appeased and would no longer visit and molest human beings.

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Word List

(Cf. the drawing)

The mani-tree (tree and flag together): dardzioġ (Tib.).
The mast: dardzioġ gändzë (Chin.); mani-kan-tzu (Chin.).
The sun: nara.
The moon: sara.
For the round disk and the piece on the sun there are no specified Tujen names.
The cover: rdziala ntsam (Tib.); san (Chin.) = screen (6) [see Note 6 above].
The flag: dardzioġ (Tib.); ta-ch'iu (Chin.); ki mori = air horse;
loñšda (Tib.); lu-ma (Chin.) = horse of good fortune;
lung-ma (Chin.) = dragon-horse (10).

10. [Foreign text pp. 62-63.] loñšda is the Tibetan rluñ rta, air-horse; ki-mori is the literal Tujen translation of it.

C3: Schröder--125 M-5 (1946-1949) 1952-1953 AE9 Monguor AE9

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[Note on foreign text pp. 69-70 cont.]
But this dog in the weather fort is connected with the dog of the same name of the hero Geser, hao t'ien ch'üan (Chin.).

For the rest, the basic features of the obo veneration appear in this myth: casting votive gifts, the circling (that is, on horseback, as is said to be done still among the neighboring Mongols), incense offerings. -- Weapons are not mentioned, but the cypress twigs that are stuck on the white stonepile are. -- And above all it is noteworthy that the obo is erected on the world-mountain and this probably gives the real connection and deeper meaning, which by no means need be Buddhist.

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This suggestion would also correspond to what, for example, Bastian writes (Chinareisen [China Travels], pp. 395 ff.), that the obo represents the mountain Sumeru. And the many small stonepiles in the direction of the various points of the compass thus also fit into the same world-picture. Cf. Unkrig in Filchner: Kumbum, Note 1638.

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The mani-strings are evidently likewise a Lamaistic product, perhaps a substitute for the sheep's shoulder bones formerly hung from them, which Bastian, loc. cit. p. 601, mentions. The Tujen no longer know anything about these shoulder blades. It cannot be explained why the two strings, the black and the white, are differentiated in this way here.

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*778 and incense, as an obo is. On these occasions new clay cones
346 are thrown into it through the gaps. Usually this is on the first,
782 eighth, and fifteenth day of the month. At other times, too, however, in case of emergency and misfortune, the people venerate the chorten chamber. The procession always goes from west to east, in other words, not in the direction of the course of the sun.

*778 Meaning: The chorten chamber is connected with the
[776] mountain-spirit and earth-god. The column establishes the
[772] connection with the sky. The chamber holds down the hostile
[757] earth-influences. Thus it protects against misfortune and illness (6).

6. [Foreign text p. 79.] The urn, the mountain, and the tree are essential for the bẽṅkãṅ. Therefore it belongs in the same conceptual realm as the central fort in the yard, namely, the widespread myth of heaven and earth, joined (or separated) by the world-tree. In this connection, in the case of the central fort the mani-flag might [illegible] Lamaist-secondary, and in the case of the chorten chamber the sasa-mountain, which consists of the mani-cones, as they are sometimes called. -- Now that a house is built over it, it is probably quite secondary. It evidently only has the function of protection and no inner relationship to its contents. It is striking that the sky column likewise is not erected as the bearer of the ridge-piece; it is freestanding and does not extend to the beam. Also, in the case of the customs

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782 also draws two crossed thunderbolts in the center of the rectangle (4).

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4. [Foreign text pp. 867-868.] As other people and lamas relate, there is a great assortment of different ground-drawings which evidently merely represent variations of the mandala. My informant, for instance, had one of his relatives draw the above-described figure. He explained it in the following way [868] (see figure below): The thunderbolts represent the four principal directions and the four directions between them. The circle with the crossed thunderbolts signifies the foundation of the world-mountain rirā (Sumeru), for this rests on a golden disk. The thunderbolts signify the rest and stability and durability of the world's foundation. Originally they were supposedly made of gold as a sign of their indestructibility. The peonies are supposed to be the symbol of the flourishing familial good fortune. The same meaning also underlies the thunderbolt that is

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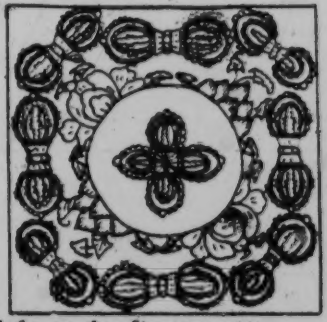

Mandala at the fire-pouring.
(Drawing of a Tujen.)

[208 cont.]

775 nonetheless know of no ancestor cult, and it is striking that they
[171] are not inclined to take this over from the Chinese. The offer-
[769] ings to the dead at the funeral celebration are rather to be under-
[764] stood as from the fear characterized above and from the ideas that
[782] the deceased would remain among the living and would need to partake of food and drink. Also, all the grave gifts, which are so important to the Chinese, are lacking among the Tujen.

774 Aside from death, the soul can escape and wander off
[513] even during life. This happens in dreams and during illness,
[753] indeed, even during ordinary sleep. How this is to be imagined is shown by a passage in the Geser legend, in which it is said that a scoundrel had fallen asleep and his souls, in the shape of a black and a white snake, had crept away out of his nostrils,
[756] for which reason he was unable to wake up. The recall of the
[755] soul is a frequently desired activity of the Tujen shaman. This catching of the soul is called: suniedzẽ xura-. It is unclear from this expression which of the three souls is involved.

[209] b) The World-picture

772 The world-picture of the Tujen extensively corresponds
[171] to the Lamaistic one, which, indeed, is essentially the same as in the ancient Orient, in pre-Buddhistic India, and in Central Asia. It has no pecularity.

In the center of the universe stands the mountain Sumeru (rira). The world is arranged around it in three layers. Sun, moon, and stars circle above. In the center is the surface of the earth with the various countries, human beings, and animals. Around the foundation of the world-mountain lie the under-world and the water. This conception is repeated in its entirety or in part in the religious life in pictorial form. It is found most unequivocally in the mandala-offering of the Bon during
[778] the erection of the pole-goat (mountain-torma). More or less clear variants of it are: the central fort with the mani-tree, the chorten chamber with the sky-column, the obo, the ground-drawings (mandala), at the fire-pouring, and at the cremation.

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772 The sky-column and world-mountain (world-tree) are emphasized
778 above all at the central fort and the chorten chamber. In both cases, however, a strong emphasis on the realm of the underworld, which is represented by the urns, is also striking. The latter are nothing other than the realm of the Nagas, who play such an important role in the Bon religion and point to the pre-Buddhistic roots of the conception of the world. The arrangement of the urns and of the scrolls in the urns mirrors the world order in the four directions of the compass and their center.
[782] The treasure urns thus represent the wealth of the earth. At the same time they are regarded as an offering to the earth-deities, whereas the main urn is the dwelling of the deities. To what extent magical effects are intended still remains to be investigated. In this connection one must also take into consideration the burying of objects in general, as, for instance, in the case of the obo, the weather fort, the warding-off magic against sickness, the construction of a compound, etc.

The air-horse on the mani-tree (mani-flag) seems to be less closely connected with the world-mountain. Indeed, it is frequently set up separately. The connection with the mani-tree is probably due to the circumstance that it simultaneously represents the four directions of the compass (2). At the same

2. The five cloth tabs on the mani-flag (cf. Anthropos 47, 1952, p. 56, Fig. 7 [see p. 100 above in the HRAF translation]) are evidently a curtailment and combination of formerly variously colored air-horse flags; four of these are regarded as the bearers of the air-horse- or wind-master and are arranged according to the four directions of the compass. This conclusion comes from a Tibetan text, for whose French résumé I am indebted to Professor Doctor R. Stein (Paris).

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772 778 [614] [351] time, an inner significance cannot be denied to it. The air-horse is the symbol and the guarantor of the destiny of the family, of the kin group. Human destiny, however, is fitted into the course of the world, just as the kin-group compound occupies its place in the world-structure. According to Tujen conception, a compound is not "complete" if the central fort and mani-tree are lacking. Through them the living space of the kin group is given conformity with the living space of the other living beings.

The world is no rigid schema, however; this is proved by the significance of the arrow of good fortune. In its way, the arrow of good fortune also represents the world: the [210] urn symbolizes the earth with its fruit; the arrow, the connecting column to the sky. Frequently four other arrows corresponding to the four directions of the compass are added to the central arrow. The vital force in the arrow of good fortune is new and not observable in the other world-representations (central fort, mandala, etc.). The germs of things, the force of increase and of life, are conjured into it. It guarantees wealth, good fortune, and a full life. The tufts of hair from the animals and the grain in the urn signify that these things will not be lost to the owner even when he has sold them. The oracle-toys of the children on the arrow guarantee the development of the young person in the corresponding direction; the hairs and threads of clothing from the bride insure that despite the loss of the daughter her good fortune will not escape. The dynamism of the world is expressed on the arrow of good fortune, whereas on the mandala (central fort, etc.), more the fixed order. Here, however, the cosmic force, the sap of life, and germinal base are not to be conceived as mana, but are to be derived from their connection with the superposed heaven. The astral, heavenly order is not only the model of its earthly mirror-image; it also imparts to the world its force, which permeates both. The references in the chapter on the arrow of good fortune already offer several indications of this. These conceptions can still be pursued much further. Their threads are quite tangled; they extend back to very early cultural forms and are linked with the oldest kind of communication between heaven and earth. Old forms of sacrifice and having the deities present are linked

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772 with it (3).
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3. The arrow of good fortune, in other words, occupies the place of the tree of life, to which men, animals, and plants owe their existence and their development; cf. Uno Holmberg, Der Baum des Lebens [The Tree of Life], p. 69 f. Among the Na-khi this tree of life is the juniper tree (Juniperus). The well-being, wealth, and the unfolding of life of human beings are ascribed to it; cf. J.F.Rock, Muan Bpō, pp. 21, 42, 94. As the wood of life, the arrow of good fortune in the house also represents the world axis, similar to the central column in temples, chortens, god-figures (human spinal column), which is designated by the Tibetan name srog šiṅ, that is, the wood of life. H.A.Jäschke (Dictionary, p. 585) translates the expression with "axle, axle tree" [cited in English]. As a supplement, let it be mentioned that this srog šiṅ is probably also the equivalent for the Tujen name of the sky-column (sõn-siṅ) in the chorten chamber; cf. Anthropos 47, 1952, pp. 76, 78, 79 [pp. 143, 137, 143, in the HRAF translation]. (Personal suggestion from Professor Doctor R. Stein).

The conception of the arrow of good fortune as a personification of the god of life is no longer vital among the Tujen. That it may have this significance is proved by the Na-khi in southwestern China. Instead of the treasure urn with

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the arrow of good fortune of the Tujen, they have a basket. In it, among other things, there is a miniature tower; it represents the god of life, called Ssu, Tibetan srog lha. The basket is his home. The miniature tower (t'a, "pagoda") may also be replaced by an arrow, so that this represents the god of life; cf. J. F. Rock, Naga Cult, pp. 146, 250, 251 (according to a personal communication). The significance of the god of life and his home agrees with the significance of the arrow of good fortune and the treasure urn. -- S. Hummel has also pointed to the arrow as the bearer of reproductive power and of the cosmic vital force; cf. Geheimnisse tibetischer Malereien [Secret Tibetan Paintings], pp. 8-14 passim.

Very ancient and widespread representations are involved here. The connection of god of life and ancestor and his seat in an urn or basket, etc. can be followed all the way to Indochina; and in the burial urns and Shang bronzes in ancient China are probably to be seen the forerunners of the pagoda as seat of the god of life or ancestors, whose modern modification is the ancestral tablet, and in a certain sense also the hearth-god tsao-chün, which is also called ssu-ming (director of life). This as a brief reference.

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A special work concerning the

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gurtum-shamans will go into the ideology underlying the whole (god of life, god of war, god of wealth, Pekar, tree of life, arrow of good fortune, spear, ancestral tablets, etc.); cf. also below, pp. 363-388.

[773] [211] The origin of the world is unfortunately recorded only in scanty documents. According to the Geser legend and the aphoristic wisdom of the people, the earth arose through a churning in the water like butter (cream) in milk. It floats on top and is held by a wooden post which one day will start to grow and develop leaves. Then the earth will tip over and bring on the end of the world. The physical sky floats over the earth on a golden peg (nail); in this connection, cf. DMF, p. 115 and p. 445. Here there are conceptions that at first glance contradict those described above, but they can nevertheless be connected with them indirectly. They are recently elaborated [171] variants from Indian cosmology (churning with the world-column; turtle as earth-bearer) and are linked with Mongolic peculiarities (heavenly bell on a golden nail); in this connection, cf. W. Lüdtke, Die Verehrung Tschingis-Chans [The Veneration of Genghis Khan]. Concerning the polar star as beacon, see further below, p. 883. Over against the earth with the wooden peg (modë ġadasë) stands heaven with the golden peg (xaldan ġadasë). Among the Tujen, however, the polar star is called [821] xaldan ġadasë: xaldan because of its shining color; ġadasë because of its similarity to a nail head. Actually ġadasë means post, peg, nail, tack. The polar star, to be sure, is otherwise conceived as the axle of the sky. Thus, the greening world-tree (earth-wood) and sky-axle (star-gold) correspond with each other. Here, too, the comparison of two parts of the world that are supposed to correspond is suggested: the sky above, the earth below. The conception of the tilting and finally falling earth may go back to the observation that the polar star, the sky-axle, is not in the zenith, but in the north. The way the [533] world-tree and stars belong together is poetically rendered in

[211 cont.]
772 the many riddle-songs of the Tujen, when they sing of the tree,
[533] which bears the sun, moon, and stars in its crown; cf., for example, Schröder, "Hochzeitslieder," loc. cit., Song I and II.
[171] Further connections will be passed over here. Only the great similarity of these songs to the wedding songs of western Tibet will be mentioned; see Francke, Tibetische Hochzeitslieder [Tibetan Wedding Songs].

772 With this harmonious conception of the world and its
779 close connection with human beings, one would also expect a projection of the macrocosm into the microcosm. In Lamaism, of course, these correspondences are carried through to the smallest detail and find their symbolic representation in the well-known syllable-monogram, the rnam bču dbaṅ idan; in this connection, cf. Filchner (Unkrig), Kumbum, pp. 160 f. These minute correspondences of the Lamaist monks, however, are too artificial for the people. They know nothing about them. Security in the great cosmos in which they literally build suffices for them. This world-feeling does not enter into sophisticated speculations.

[212] 3. The Religious Cult

a) The Basic Psychic Attitude

771 The inner attitude of the people toward the good spirits
776 is the consciousness of dependence upon them. They determine the well-being in this world, which, after all, is the focal point of thought, for one does not think much about the beyond. Hence the first thing a person does when misfortune or an unusual situation surprises him is to turn to a spirit, a mightier being, which can help here. How much this attitude dominates the common man is apparent from the above-mentioned basic thoughts of the informant, which provided the articulation of all the customs: "... now I shall tell you first what we do for the good fortune of the family, etc."; cf. "Introduction," Anthropos, 47, 1952, p. 15 [p. 16 above in the HRAF translation]. Everything is thereby subordinated to the religious

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771 776 The belief in a supreme god among the Tujen must have been known to the people themselves at an early date. Tafel noted in his fairly reliable chapter: "The Turen [sic] of Weiyüanpu are a very curious tribe. Many say that they have only one single god in which they believe. But they are, like the [218] Chinese, also Buddhists" (Tibetreise [Tibet Journey], I, p. 246). The author unfortunately does not tell who these "many" are. Probably they are the Tujen themselves. Tafel is right insofar as a true monotheism is unknown to the Tujen. On the other hand they do not share the same Buddhism with the Chinese. The Tujen are Lamaists, the Chinese, on the other hand, never or only as an exception. From the customs observed, it now appears incontestably that the so-called one god [821] of the Tujen is a supreme god who is venerated in the form of the heavens. One must, therefore, start from "heaven."

a) The Name "Heaven"

rëġuo

772 776 192 [821] For "heaven" the Tujen know two expressions, namely, rëġuo and tieńgëre. The word rëġuo is little used and then only in the sense of the physical sky, firmament. It agrees entirely with its Mongolic equivalent oktarġui, which is to be equated with the Tibetan mk'a or nam mk'a or gnam, and means: sky, empty space above the air, firmament, vault of the heavens, ether, atmosphere, air. Cf. Kovalevski, p. 430. Even among the following expressions that include oktarġui, there is none in which oktarġui is comprehended as a deity or spirit. Cf. op. cit., pp. 430-433. Thus it must be sharply distinguished from tengri (tieńgëre) and cannot be used synonymously with the latter. Only in the sense of the physical sky do they overlap. Among the Tujen, reġuo is chiefly regarded as light-sky, bearer of brightness. One therefore likes to add the adjective kuġuo (blue, light, bright), for instance, kuġuo rëġuo undurwa (the blue sky is high). The kuġuo rëġuo (light sky) stands in contrast to the [825] [539] xara gadzier (dark earth). An appropriate bird is assigned to

[218 cont.]

772 776 192 [825] [539] each of them as a symbol of brightness and of darkness. Thus, in a wedding song it is said: xara gadzier mundzini xela; kuguo rëguoni dzindzini xela (the black earth's dark bird calls; the light sky's light bird answers). Here, it is true, the rëguo has been drawn into the -- probably Tibetan -- mythology of light and darkness, but nothing concerning a possible significance of the rëguo as spirit or deity is expressed by it. (Cf. Schröder, "Hochzeitslieder.") Even if the expression rëguo in its meaning as light-bearer corresponds approximately to the word tiengëre, its deeper meaning is thereby exhausted and it will not be considered further.

tiengëre

772 776 192 821 tiengëre is the Tujen form of the written Mongolic tengri or tngri. It may signify both the natural sky as well as heaven as a deity. As natural sky it is provided with the same adjectives as the word rëguo, in other words, with kuguo (blue), undur (high), etc. Like the latter, it also, as the daylight sky, stands in contrast to the dark earth. Our expression "heaven and earth" is always rendered among the Tujen by kuguo tiengëre, xara gadzier (light sky, dark earth). They would never [219] simply say "heaven and earth." In this conception, the Tujen go hand in hand with their Altaic-Mongolic relatives. In his dissertation, Pallisen has presented the connection of light and heaven especially clearly: Among all Altaic peoples the sky is primarily perceived as the daylight sky. According to H. Vambéry and Barbier de Maynard, the concepts "the light," "brightness" in all Altaic languages belong to the same word family as tengri (Religion der Altmongolen [Religion of the Ancient Mongols], p. 123). Pallisen then appends the word lists for 13 languages, which are intended to illustrate this connection (op. cit., pp. 123 ff.).

The sky, however, is regarded not only as the embodiment of light, but it is also the bearer of the most important cosmic phenomena. This is expressed in many everyday phrases, for example: the sky rains; the sky is cold; the sky is hot; the sky thunders; the sky is cheerful, etc. Hence,

[219 cont.]

772 the heavens, even purely sensibly, stand in the consciousness of
776 the Tujen as something important, exalted, as that immeasurable
192 space of light embracing the world, in which the natural events
821 that so impress the simple human being take place. It is not the word rĕguo that arouses this consciousness in them, but the word tiengĕre. Evidently, it is one of the oldest words that they, along with the other Altaic peoples, among whom it is charged with the same content, have inherited from hoary prehistory. It cannot be further analyzed etymologically.

772 For this reason, this very expression is excellently suitable
776 for designating what we call "God." Where the Tujen, who are,
192 after all, a branch of the Mongols, acquired the link between
174 the name tiengĕre and the concept "God" is not to be dealt with here. That belongs in the history of the religion of the Mongols or of the Altaic peoples generally. Father W. Schmidt has made it seem probable that it is not a matter of equating the highest being with the material heaven, but only of a transference of the name "heaven" to the supreme god; this must have happened at the time of the transition to herding in the great steppes where "they have before them the huge dome of the heavens unobscured in its entire extent and with all natural phenomena taking place in the sky"; cf. Schmidt, Religionsgeschichte [History of Religion], p. 256, UdG, X, pp. 128 ff. The question arises here: Does this also apply to the Tujen and in what way? How is the name tiengĕre used, as a generic or proper name? Does it actually signify God?

One must first of all go back to the general Mongolic conceptions, which, to be sure, know the same name. Pallisen in this connection comes to the following conclusion (op. cit., p. 126): "One can therefore say that in this stage of development Tengri meant something like 'God Heaven' as a proper name, not 'heaven god' and not 'god in heaven' or 'god of heaven,' as some researchers maintain.... Gradually, however, Tengri was used to designate the God of the Christians and of the Mohammedans, and finally, with the adoption of Buddhism, this word became equivalent to the Sanskritic Deva, and numerous deities of the Lamaistic pantheon, which in part were taken into it from the old folk-belief, were [220] then also called

[220 cont.]

772 Tengri, with the addition of a definite proper name (especially
776 the 33 tengri: ghutschin ghurban Tengri)." "In other words, for
192 the interpreters and for the numerous strangers generally who
174 stayed at the court of the great Khan and among whom many priests of all religions were also represented, the significance of Tengri as a generic name for 'god' was already familiar and clear" (op. cit., p. 127). -- Later, according to Pallisen, along with Buddhism there came the term burxan, which is supposed to be a corruption of the Sanskrit word for Buddha and among the Mongols is supposed to have taken on the meaning of "idol, deity, spirit, god's image." (Concerning the origin of the word Burchan or purġan, cf. above.)

Among the Tujen this development is difficult to determine. I have often asked people how many tieńgĕre there are. I always received the answer; only one. Only once did my informant observe that there were also other gods called tieńgĕre. When he was then to name these gods, he did not know a single one. This is a sign of how secondary the significance of tieńgĕre as a generic name must have been among the Tujen, since it could disappear from linguistic usage so completely without a trace, if it was ever present. Perhaps the above-mentioned observation of A. Tafel concerning a "single god" is to be traced back to a similar piece of information. The tieńgĕre of the Tujen, in other words, does not entirely correspond with the tengri of the Mongols. Only the word purġan, which corresponds to the Mongolic burxan, has taken over the function of a generic name; purġan signifies not only the native gods, spirits, gods' images, but generally all the deities of the various religions. At times it may also designate a demon. It is used in a way similar to the Chinese fo-yeh, though to be sure never for a Tulku. The conception of a plurality, which, of course, is essential for a generic concept, is always connected with the word purġan.

772 According to all the information and on the basis of the
776 customs recorded, tieńgĕre alone is reserved as the proper name
192 of the god-heaven. The bilingual Tujen generally translate it with the Chinese t'ien (heaven) or lao-t'ien (old heaven) or

[220 cont.]
772 t'ien-yeh (father "heaven"). The fact that this tieñgëre applies
776 exclusively to the heavenly being appears with special clarity
192 in the constantly used formula: šge tieñgëre, uluon purgan (the great heaven, the many spirits). Quite consciously here uniqueness is placed over against multiplicity and at the same time it is expressed that heaven possesses at least as much honor as the purgan, in other words, is also a deity, or can be a higher spiritual being. What the content of this god-concept is now, whether it is really a heaven as supreme god, is to be made clear in the following, and, to be sure, first of all in connection with the heaven cult of the people.

776
782 b) The Heaven Cult

After all that has been said up to now, it is established beyond doubt that the Tujen venerate the heavens. It can also be confirmed further from the popular literature, as will become clear below. Thus [221] here it is only a question of the what and how of the veneration of heaven (offering, prayer), insofar as it is appropriate to provide information concerning the god-concept and the conceptions linked with it, as well as the age and the position of the belief in a supreme god.

1) The Offering

782 As regards the form, the executers, and the sentiment of the offering, what is said generally about the offering applies. Here in first place the question arises: Are there offerings that in a special way are intended for heaven or that have a special relationship to it? This is quite generally the case with every offering insofar as it can be conceived as a primitial offering. In addition there are also other offerings which -- at least originally -- were reserved for heaven, among which the incense offering and sheep offering are the most important.

The Primitial Offering

[192] The Tujen do not know a special generic name for the primitial offering. They say, depending on the circumstances:

[227 cont.]

782 mudie is already known from the early period of the Mongols, and
788 it attests to what an ancient heritage the veneration of heaven is
[174] among the Mongolic basic stock of the Tujen. There is usually a three-fold kowtow also connected with the prayer, whereby the person also wishes to indicate purely outwardly in a formal ceremony his submissiveness before the god-heaven.

c) The Nature and Characteristics of Heaven

Uniqueness

772 The discussion of the name has already indicated that the
776 designation tieńgĕre is reserved for heaven alone. It does not share this name as a title with any other deity, even, say, by adding a proper name of a certain deity to it. This unique position of heaven becomes even clearer when one considers it in relation to the other deities.

776 The position with respect to the gods in general. -- The offering, the many texts from the songs, and the other customs everywhere acknowledge heaven as the first. This is acknowledged briefly and concisely in the constantly recurring expression šge tieńgĕre, uluon purġan (the great heaven, the countless spirits). Heaven is the great one. It is especially set apart from the many other spirits. As the first it has a share in all offerings, for it -- before all other gods -- the first kowtow is made, the first dedication of the day. The Tujen express this: What would the gods be without heaven, he is their lord"; cf. "Herbst-Dankopfer," op. cit., p. 873. -- Heaven also has this position of pre-eminence over those deities who it might seem share the honor with him, for which reason they are to be mentioned briefly in the following.

773 The position with respect to the heaven-emperor of the
776 Geser legend. -- The Geser legend mentions three lords of heaven, among whom Šdeńglatsien Sań is the highest. He lives with them in the immeasurable space of heaven, likewise

[230 cont.]

776 incense burning you say: 'Heaven, you know it. What then
782 does heaven know?' -- 'Heaven knows all, he knows the attitude of my heart, he knows that I want to venerate him.' " -- This oft-cited saying in literal translation runs: heaven to know; freely, the heaven knows; or, the heaven is knowing. This is not a petitioning prayer, but simply a pure acknowledgment of this characteristic of heaven, and it implies, according to the explanation given, an omniscience.

Other expressions are found for this consciousness of the people. Thus, a frequently used oath-formula for a deposition, for example, runs: "Heaven is not high; heaven knows it (tieṅgĕre undur guei; tieṅgĕre mudiem)." The meaning is: Heaven is high, to be sure, but not so high that it would not know. (Cf. DMF 416, where this sentence likewise is designated as a "formule de serment" [oath-formula].) Another phrase that is often used runs similarly: "tsimi mŏ gedzi yidza, tieṅgĕre mudiem. If (I) have done evil to you (if evil has happened to you), then heaven knows it"; cf. DMF 416. This especially emphasizes the knowledge of the inner attitude.

If one now adds generally that the whole veneration of heaven in offering and prayer is done under the presupposition that heaven also knows of human distress, it may be asserted that the people's consciousness of heaven simply as the knowing one is very much alive.

776 The belief in the knowledge is connected with the omnipresence of heaven. To be sure, it cannot be expressly ascertained, but the Tujen nonetheless have a conception of it when they say: "Heaven is there where one places it (tieṅgĕre andzi tedza, andzi-i)." According to the linguistic usage this means: Heaven is everywhere. (Cf. DMF 416, where the same meaning is explained.) This phrase seems evidently to be determined by the strong impression [231] that the all-encompassing firmament makes on the unconstrained mind of the people, especially in the steppes and on the mountains on the Koko Nor. As far as one
● [772] wanders, whether by day or night, the endless heaven extends over man. It is really an all-encompassing bell, which the Tujen imagine to be fastened to a nail in the universe.

[234 cont.]

777 god of good fortune. It seems that further reminders of these
776 times still echo in the Tujen songs: of the fate of the Mongols,
171 which is based on good fortune; or of the sülde of the khan, which invisibly protects his subjects (UdG., loc. cit.). -- Whatever the connections may be, neither according to Uno Harva nor according to Banzarov-Schmidt nor in the conception of the Tujen themselves is there a fate or good fortune that is independent of the rule of heaven.

772 Summary. -- Everything that has been said about heaven
776 proves it to be an independent deity existing for itself, sharply separated from all other gods, ruling them and dominating the entire world. Its name is "heaven," not in the physical but in the personal sense. Everything pantheistic and animistic and every mana concept remains far removed from it. To be sure, it is not one god [monotheism] in the strict sense, but an authentic supreme god, a towering unique phenomenon among all the other deities. Because of this uniqueness the statement of A. Tafel about the Tujen can now be repeated in its correct interpretation: "Many say they have only one single god in which they believe."

[235] 2. Shamanism

121 Whereas the discussion of the belief in a supreme god
756 could be confined to the region of the Tujen themselves and the corresponding sources, this is not possible for shamanism, for which reason a detailed presentation would not be suitable for this work. It is reserved for a special study. Here the ground-plan can only be drawn in a sketchy fashion, merely representing a theory, because the detailed proofs must be omitted here. The question runs: Of what type is Tujen shamanism and where is it to be classified from the religio-historical standpoint? -- Three types are found among the Tujen: bö-shamanism (drum-shamans), gurtum-shamanism (warrior-shamans), and idol-shamanism (with the spear-soothsayer).

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swer: the galaxy. Who walks on the milky way? Yu Huang,[1] preceded by the green dragon and the White Tiger. Under the bridge is there still another bridge or not? The dangerous bridge leading to Hell, over which passes the king of Hell, Erlik, preceded by the spirit with the head of a cow and the spirit with the head of a horse, and where spirits are waiting, who devour passing souls. What is our bridge? The bridge of the spirits.

The building of the bridge of the spirits and the confused explanations of the shamans, mixed with Taoist, shamanist, and Bön principles, reveals, nevertheless, the philosophy claiming the existence of three worlds: the upper, middle, and lower worlds, each with its own population.[2] A hint has already been given of this philosophy, in describing the rite of the stretched goat skin and the molding of clay figures, etc. At any rate the bridge provides a wonderful opportunity for the shamans to display their philosophical abilities and their proficiency in the art of telling of the nine and more heavens, one more beautiful than the other; the eighteen hells, dark and terrifying; the severe judgments after death presided over by Erlik or the Chinese Yen wang; the explanation of the three souls; shamans flying on drums to heaven, are unique occasions for story-tellers, sparkling with wit, to reap big successes.

At that time, shamans never fail to explain the appointment of their ancestor shaman by Chiang Tze-ya as servant of the god of the Five Roads; they never fail to narrate captivating episodes from the epic of Gesar. All kinds of problems are dealt with, and a lot of fun is had. The most ridiculous answers are given to the most ridiculous questions. One shaman asks for the explanation of why in each wheat grain there is always a small groove? The answer is that in the beginning of the world there was no wheat. Tengri made a wheat grain, but it seemed to be too big; with the nail of his right thumb he parted the grain in two parts. Still it seemed to be too big, and so he parted it again and then a third time. The fourth time, just when he was about to cut the grain in two parts again, it appeared to be all right without cutting through it, so he left the grain only half cut through, and so all grains of wheat have a little groove in them. This story was told to me several times by children who attended the meeting and said that the shaman told them so.

Another story, which gives us a better insight into the nature of that kind of meeting, is told when a shaman is asked at what time and why men started seducing women, and women started eloping? An interesting sociological and moral question! Tengri wanted to have men and women. After kneading red earth and water a whole day, he moulded seven men; then he

[1] The most popular god of modern China who received letters patent from the Emperor in A.D. 1017. Wieger, *Textes historiques*, *op. cit.*, 1846.

[2] Hoffmann, *op. cit.*, 138. Shirokogoroff, *op. cit.*, 125.

[M 110 (B)]

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devoted to the practice of throwing in the wind slips of paper on which are printed the Buddhist "flying wind horses" are accustomed to performing this rite on the top of the sacred hill. 795 782

It is not permitted to cut wood, to graze animals, or to hunt on the sacred hill. In old China, the god of the earth was the tree itself, planted in a small forest.[23] The Monguors plant the Obo post in the hill, and do not allow the cutting of bushes growing on it, or the grazing of cattle. In every village the sacred hill is very conspicuous, because of the wealth of the bushes growing on it which seem to create the illusion of a small forest.

CONCLUSION

The worshipping of the mountain gods consists in the sacrifice of a sheep (or a horse), the burying of an urn, the planting of spears, the lighting of a cypress fire, prostrations, and marching three times around the Obo.

All these rites are performed by the villagers, led by the chiefs and elders. After these rites are performed, lamas start reciting texts, beating drums, and making *tormas*. This fact seems to reveal that the lama rites are additional rites of later times, that the cult of the mountain gods existed long before the lamas appeared in the country, and was performed by the communities without them. The cult preserves the old ritual used at the worshipping of the mountain gods.

The old philosophy concerning the nature of the mountain gods, their dominion over the country and control over its people, is still fresh and living. It is clearly manifested by the burying of an urn, the specific, grateful offer to a god who is regarded as owner of the earth, which contains the specimens of all the kinds of blessings and treasures provided by the earth. This philosophy places the mountain gods in the category of the earth gods. It is typical also that in every urn they never fail to put an offering of medicines, which reveals the philosophy concerning the decay of the gods whose lives have to be nursed and reinvigorated. [772]

However, the Monguors could not explain the meaning of the planting of the spears near the pole. The explanations encountered in books relating to this puzzle seem to be unsatisfactory and arbitrary.

Taking account of this philosophy and the religious environment in which the Monguors live, claiming to have gods and Tengris as proprietors and dominators of the country, it seems easy to understand that little room is left for thinking about a God, Creator of the Universe, and that this notion is completely absent in their philosophy. Only once is the "Spirit of Heaven" recalled during the performance of the whole rite on top of the mountain—at the time the broth of mutton is ladled and thrown to the four points of the compass, honoring all the gods and spirits. However, the "Spirit of Heaven" is called first and the offering is made first

[23] Maspero, *op. cit.*, 168. [p. 116(A)]

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ceased cannot climb to heaven (the soul cannot leave the body).[12] Like the Monguors, they call a son *Ku-hsüeh*, "bone and blood," for his bones come from the father and blood from the mother. Relationship is called *Ku-jou*, "bones and flesh." The examination of the corpse by the maternal uncle before the funeral is called *Yen-ku*, "examining the bones."

However, the usurped rights of the maternal uncle concern only the children of his sister. He is not a chief of a clan, and in all clans men know very well that their clan chief is not a maternal uncle.

All the conditions set by the maternal uncle in order to permit burial find their explanation among Monguors and Chinese in the fear, which both harbor, of the harm which the deceased might cause in case he is not decently buried, and the desire to have a splendid burial for a member of their family, which will honor the family and flatter its pride. The Chinese are extravagantly demanding about precious clothes, a nice coffin, musicians, a big dinner, and a large number of Taoist priests. Monguors are also eager for grandeur, but, having no need for these items, put their unreasonable claims in the form of fantastically large alms for lamaseries, three-fourths of which are never agreed upon. This mentality and these facts prove that religious feeling at that time plays a far lesser part in the discussions than the mania for display and worldly glory. Certainly there are devout Lamaists who, at the time of the death of a member of the family, really like to have prayers said for the deceased, spend a lot of money for entertaining lamas, giving alms, burning lamps. However, this is never done without ostentation and without advertising, and they make these claims on the day of the dinner in such a way that the whole gathering may spread the news.

THE SECOND SOUL

The concept of this soul is more confused than that of the first soul. The second soul is that which will join Buddha in his paradise, or will be condemned by the terrible judge after death to reincarnate, in order to repair injustices. The Monguors at present know perfectly well that after death this soul does not die, and that there is a reward or punishment meted out by the terrible judge. They know perfectly the eighteen hells, from having seen the pictures in the temples and having heard the lamas speak about them. It is one of the most important merits of Lamaism, that it has spread this doctrine to such an extent. The shamans, when performing the spring rites, tell about Erlik, as the lamas tell about the judge of death. The rite which is usually performed in reparation for injustices, so widely spread and practiced, supports the assumption that many

[12] This last saying of the Chinese has no meaning for the Monguors, because, immediately after death, the lama opens a way for the escape of the soul through the bregmatic fontanelle by pulling some hairs from the top of the head. The soul is thus already released before the maternal uncle arrives.

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carried to the burying spot by the shamans, running at a fast pace. Paper is burned with the flags and inscriptions, while the shamans prostrate themselves holding incense sticks in their joined hands. After the pit has been filled, each shaman carries three buckets of water and pours them on it. Then they build the small tumulus and return home, running without looking back at the tomb. They have a breakfast of noodles, without meat. All together they make a terrifying noise and drive the evil spirits out of the home. Except for the members of their own families and relatives, no other people attend the burial, because they are afraid of the magicians.

XIV. CULT OF HEAVEN

THE MEANING OF THE FORMULA "HEAVEN AND ALL THE SPIRITS"

Several times in the present study there has been noted the stereotype formula, "Heaven and all the spirits," used during the performance of religious rites. Monguors in their own language are accustomed to saying *"Tiengere uluon purgan"* meaning "Heaven and all the spirits," and even *"Sge Tiengere uluon purgan,"* that is "Great Heaven and all the spirits."

Because "Heaven" is always invoked in conjunction with "all the spirits," it seems obvious that Heaven is considered by them to be a being, belonging in the category of the living spirits, and that it is not supposed to be the material sky.[1]

At present, the Monguors call all the spirits Tengri or purgan.[2] The shamans serve their Twelve Tengris and many families honor the Twelve Tengri as the family protectors. The Obo spirit, the earth goddess, Lung wang the dragon king, Wu tao, the goddess of children, are all called Purgan and Tengri. However, when speaking about a definite spirit, they call it by its proper name. The Obo spirit is called Yifula, the goddess of the earth, Etogen, the god of the rain, Lung

[1] Professor N. Poppe, in reviewing W. Schmidt's *Der Ursprung der Gottesidee, Bd.* X in *Anthropos*, **48**: 328, 1953, notes: "Should tengri be understood as Heaven or God. . . . I think this question can be answered in favour of the word God." He adds: "No matter what the exact meaning was in the usage of the pagan Mongols of the 13th and 14th centuries," its equivalent in the official translation into the languages spoken by Christian peoples was "Deus" or "God." Schmidt, in reviewing N. Pallisen's *Die alte Religion des Mongolischen Volkes während der Herrschaft der Tschingisiden* in *Anthropos* **48**: 623, 1953, notes: "Pallisen stellt fest, dass zunächst Gotthimmel als Eigenname bedeutete, dann aber zum Gattungnamen Gott wurde. . . . Zuverlässige Nachrichten über Himmel als Schöpfer in der Religion der Mongolen des 12 und 13 jhdt. liegen night vor." (The word *Purgan*, it should be noted, is the Monguor form of the word more familiar in its standard Mongol form, *Burkhan*.)

[2] Concerning the word Purgan, see Francis Woodman Cleaves, The Bodistw-a Cari-a Awatar-un Tayilbur of 1312 by Cosgi Odsir, *Harvard Jour. Asiatic Studies* **17**: 91, note 29; and 100, note 118, 1954.

[p.149(A)]

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wang, the god who protects against hail, Wu tao. Although they are accustomed to saying that all the spirits are Tengri and Purgan, they seem to prefer to use the term Tengri. *Purgan* seems to be a relatively recent term, introduced after Lamaism had been spread among them, for they seem to prefer "Purgan" when speaking about gods of Lamaism. However, they always say that *"uluon purgan"* means all the spirits, and not only the Lamaist deities.

Because in the formula *"Tiengere,"* often *"Sge Tiengere,"* "Heaven," "Great Heaven" are always used first, it is obvious that the "spirit of Heaven" seems to be prominent among the spirits in the mind of the Monguors. This prominence of Heaven is shown by the Monguors in a very conspicuous way at the time when a sheep is offered to the guardian spirit of the family, by the fact that, first of all, a piece of the skin of the forehead is cut and thrown toward Heaven in the courtyard, with the cry, "Heaven." Then a second piece is cut and thrown in the courtyard with the cry, "All the spirits," and finally the sheep is offered to the guardian deity. It is shown also at the time of the offering of a sheep to the Obo spirit on top of the mountain, when three ladles of broth are thrown in the air—first, for "Heaven," and then, consecutively, three ladles to each of the four points of the compass for all the spirits, *"Uluon purgan."*

However, is it permitted, on account of this striking prominence, to jump to the conclusion that the "spirit of Heaven," or "Great Heaven" is a monotheos, and that the Monguors of 1910–1920 were monotheists? Monotheists are considered as worshipping but one God. People who worship and offer sacrifices to Heaven and all the spirits are consequently considered polytheists, no matter how prominent the "spirit of Heaven" may be.

Does this formula justify the conclusion that the "spirit of Heaven" is the chief of all the spirits, whom they all have to obey; that the "spirit of Heaven" alone administers the departments both blessings and punishments, and that the "spirit of Heaven" is omnipotent?[3]

When I asked the Monguors about the abode of the spirits, they always pondered for a few moments, as if they did not understand the meaning of my question, and then they answered: "Of course the spirits are everywhere." Indeed it seemed obvious, in view of my European frame of mind, to interpret the expression, "Heaven and all the spirits" as meaning that all the spirits enjoyed happiness together in Heaven with their supreme chief, the great spirit of Heaven. However, the Monguors assured me that the spirits are independent of one another, and independent of the spirit called Heaven; that each of them administers its own department, and that they all know the intimate feelings and behavior of the people toward them and bless or punish accordingly. Therefore, the Monguors are afraid to offend any of them and propitiate the spirit they are

[3] Schröder, *op. cit.*, 217.

supposed to have offended. It is for that reason that during the rite of spring all the spirits are invited by the shamans to come down along the rope to be honored by the villagers so that all of them may extend their protection. 772 782

In the Halachih Valley, among subjects of the Lu T'u-ssu, I encountered the following case. At the time of division of a parental inheritance, a son considered that the decision made by the elders of the village was unjust toward him, and at the very moment when he should have appended his signature, he ran into the courtyard, pencil in hand, crying toward the sky: "Twelve Tengris, protectors of our family, you know that the division is unjust, that I am compelled to apply my signature." Then he entered the room and signed. In such circumstances the ultimate recourse of every Chinese would inevitably be to invoke "Old Father Heaven" and never another spirit. 776 428

Carpenters, building a temple in Sumdoo, having had trouble with the chief of the tribe, proposed to go to the monastery of Erh-ku-lung in order to take the oath before the statue of Buddha. The chief answered, "No need to go so far, take the oath here, Buddha is everywhere; he will know it." 776 466

The belief that all the spirits are everywhere, know all things, bless and punish independently, and that they are just and equitable, is deeply ingrained in the minds of the Monguors of today. It is easy to understand that in a society in which each department is administered by a particular spirit, independent and omnipotent in its sphere, little room is left for the activities of the "spirit of Heaven"; that finally "Heaven," the "Great Heaven," occupies a role of honorary dimensions and nominal importance, and the characteristics and activities of the "spirit of Heaven" among the Monguors are hard to define. 776

Can "Heaven," which is unable to control the good spirits, control the evil spirits? According to the Monguors, no spirit can control the department of its neighbor, and so in case of interference of evil spirits, magical devices are contrived in order to drive away and combat the evildoers and make them harmless. The good spirits, however, are invited to participate in the struggle against them. When the spirits of hail threaten the village with devastation, magic devices are used by the shamans, and the spirit protectors of the village are carried to the battlefield, and Buddha and "Heaven and all the spirits" are invoked. If they are unable to match their opponents, they abandon the struggle, rushing with their carriers through rivers and precipices. Good spirits can lend a hand in the struggle, but they may lose the battle and—so much for "Heaven and all the spirits." Facts speak for themselves.

Is not this fierce struggle between good and evil spirits, between representatives of two opposite worlds, reminiscent of Manichaeism, fervently practiced by Turkic peoples in Central Asia during the last centuries of the first millennium? [p 150(A)] 771

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Does the joke played during the spring feasts between the shamans, concerning the making of men and women by the good Tengris, and the storm caused by the nefarious Erlik in order to disturb the good actions of Tengris, not warrant also the same assumption? Or is the struggle between two opposite powers a specific characteristic of shamanism? If so, it is no wonder that shamanism was a field well prepared for the planting of Manichaeism, with its dualistic principle of light and darkness, whose powers were engaged in an endless struggle. 771

BEHAVIOR OF THE MONGUORS TOWARDS HEAVEN

The whole day long the Monguors, like their neighbors the Chinese, use the word "Heaven" in their conversation. They use the Chinese expressions: "Heaven knows it," "Heaven sees all things," "It is impossible to cheat Heaven," "Heaven punishes him," "Heaven rejects him," "Heaven does not bless him," "Heaven determines destiny," "It was decided by Heaven"; even a child born out of wedlock or by a girl married with the pole, is called "born by Heaven." 772

One can easily be impressed by this fact and induced, at first glance, to believe that the Monguors are very dutiful toward Heaven, and harbor convictions that they depend entirely on Heaven; that they trust in Heaven alone in all circumstances of life, and that Heaven is considered the omnipotent, omniscient, equitable regulator of the universe and its inhabitants. However, when a happy event is announced they clap their hands, and with a gleam in their eyes happily say, "Om Mani, Om Mani"; when bad news is broken they say pitifully and sorrowfully, "Om Mani, Om Mani"; when they are suffering with pain, or when a calamity is imminent, they will sigh imploringly, crying, "Om Mani, Om Mani . . . help us!" The first cry of the heart is never a cry toward "Heaven" but the Om Mani to Buddha, for everybody knows that Buddha, who knows all things, is the personification of benevolence, always willing to help. 772 788 776

What is the factual position of Heaven in the fabric of the daily life of the Monguors? After the first surge of emotion and the cry to the benevolent Buddha, the "practical" Monguors start reasoning about the causes of the mischief. Because their world is crowded with mischievous spirits, they try to detect the mischief-maker, or to determine whom among the spirits they have injured. When a member of the family is smitten with a severe disease, they suspect that they have offended the god who is the proprietor of the soil of their courtyard, the god of the hearth, the guardian deity of the family, or that they are the victims of the pranks of some evil spirit or of roaming souls which they had neglected to feed. Epizootics and epidemics, are supposed to be sent by the offended god who is the proprietor of the village or of the Obo. Lack of success 772 776 [753]

[p. 150 (B)]

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in business is ascribed to the spirit who is the guardian of the wealth of some family, offended by the injustices perpetrated by the unsuccessful businessman. When drought imperils the crops, they implore and propitiate the dragon god who cares for rain. They never envisage calamities or troubles as being a punishment of Heaven, and never try to propitiate Heaven, but they make recourse to the god who is supposed to administer the department in question, and try to conciliate him by inviting shamans or lamas. At that time Heaven and Buddha are overlooked. Exceptionally devout Buddhists will once in a while ascribe misfortunes to punishments sent by Buddha and invite lamas to pray for some days. However, such an act of religion is "never performed for Heaven."

PRAYERS AND OFFERINGS FOR HEAVEN

I have notice of only one occasion of a thanksgiving rite for the reaped harvest of the year, performed by the entire village. It is led by the chief and elders of the community, and an offering of a sheep or a pig is made on that occasion. The prayer is said and the offer made for "Old Father Heaven" alone, the stereotyped "all the spirits" being omitted.

This fact seems to be controversial because every family, giving thanks for the reaped harvest privately, makes its offering and says its prayers to "Heaven and all the spirits," and not according to the thanksgiving rite of the Chinese performed in the country for Heaven alone. The rite is the more controversial because, except in this case, offerings are never made, or prayers said by the Monguors, to Heaven alone. This exceptional rite appears to have been borrowed from the Chinese at the time when the Monguors in Hsining exchanged their pastoralism for an agricultural economy.

The fact that the rite of the sacred animal still persists among the Monguors (see above, pp. 105, 118), may be evidence that the rite after the reaping of the harvest, directed to Heaven alone, was borrowed by the Monguors from the Chinese in Hsining. The rite of the sacred animal, which is characteristic of nomads, is both for the purpose of securing for the herds the blessings of fecundity and, at the same time, a rite of the first fruits, since it comes in the spring after the nomad "harvest" of lambs (see above, p. 118). It thus corresponds to the agricultural rite after the autumn harvest, when the crops have been carried to the threshing floor. The rite of the sacred animal is performed by the Monguor community at the lunar New Year (usually in February). It is in honor of the guardian deity of the village, and is performed within the temple of the village and also in the living room of each family, before the altar of the guardian spirit of the family and in its honor. This rite of thanksgiving for the newborn livestock is never devoted, by the Monguors, to Heaven, nor is it performed outdoors, on the tops of mountains;

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

honored in the open air temples being built only for souls of the deceased.[7] Among the Monguors, temples are built for all kinds of spirits. Heaven, however, has no temples. 776

The Monguors have no special offering for "Heaven." In former times, according to their traditions, horses were offered to "Heaven and all the spirits." At present the sheep is the usual offering. It is offered to all kinds of spirits and on all occasions. Rich people, or large villages, often offer a pig.

The most important event in a Monguor community is the rite performed in spring, in order to obtain blessings upon the community and the crops during the year. All possible spirits are invited into the temple along the rope, except the lama deities. The feast starts at night, with offerings, dances, and drum beating by the shamans for "Heaven and all the spirits"—but nobody attends this night rite, not even the chief or elders of the village! And during the two days that the rite lasts, not a single mention is made of "Heaven"! 241 796

The appointment of the new Tu-ssu is announced, not to "Heaven and all the spirits," but to the ancestors and to the protector deity of the clan, with an elaborate ceremonial, and their blessings are implored upon the T'u-ssu and the clan. (See Part I: 46.) 622

At the triennial visit of the T'u-ssu to his villages, the image of the guardian deity of the clan is reverently carried to the villages and honored for three days. However, not a single rite is performed for Heaven by the chief of the clan, not even at the yearly cult of the ancestor of the clan, when the entire clan is assembled. (Part I: 37, 64.)

No Monguor hopes his soul will ascend to Heaven and enjoy happiness together with the great "spirit of Heaven," in a place of joy and felicity. The Mongols have no notion of such a place belonging to the "great Heaven"; they only know the luxurious paradise of Buddha, where they are told they will enjoy happiness with Buddha during the period of time preceding a new rebirth, about which they seem to have very little interest. 775 772

All these facts seem to prove that at present the Monguors are very remiss in the cult of their undefined and vague "spirit of Heaven," who is without departments of activities, having no power over good and evil spirits, and no omnipotence. The "great Heaven" is not the so-called "Hochgott," but a spirit enjoying an honorary prominence. 776 171

In connection with this problem, it should be kept in mind that the habit of ascribing prominence to one among the spirits seems to be very old in Asia: "In Babylon and Assyria [3,000 years ago] the principal god of the city which happened to dominate the entire nation, became the supreme god of the realm."[8] "Al-

[7] Henri Maspero, *op. cit.*, 202.

[8] Albert Condamin, S.J., *La religion des Babyloniens et des Assyriens*, 692, Jos. Huby, Christus Beauchesne, Paris, 1923.

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